Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 34 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1949 — PRICE: FIVE CENTS

LEON TROTSKY MEMORIAL ISSUE

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Washington Brushes Off Plight of Jobless Army

Legless Veteran Reports on Tour For Civil Rights

By James Kutcher

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 13 — During my entire West Coast tour, the only voice that has been raised against a solid united front in defense of civil rights has been that of the Stalinist slanderers.

From Minneapolis all the way down to Los Angeles, I have met with warm and sympathetic response from scores of unions and minority organizations, and some thousands of workers. Union after union has passed resolutions in support of my case. Many have also voted funds to aid in carrying the case to the courts in order to test the government's right to discharge me from my Veterans Administration job because of my socialist views and my membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Typical of the reaction I have met is that expressed last week by the UAW Ford local in Long Beach. The Ford workers were simultaneously considering strike action to push their own demands against the company. But recognizing the importance of my case, they took time out to hear my plea. After listening to me, they voted to endorse my fight. In addition, they also voted a $25 contribution to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Since the very successful banquet given for me here the end of July, I have also spoken to AFL Carpenters Local 1976; CIO Oil Workers Local 128, of Long Beach; and one of the branches of the Community Service Organization, composed largely of Mexican workers.

In each instance I was listened to attentively and given encouragement in my fight.

Only in a very few places have I met any opposition. This opposition, it is apparent, has come solely from Stalinists or fellow-travelers. They — and they alone — have called me "stoolpigeon" and attacked my party.

This they have done despite the fact that everywhere possible I have called for the defense of the civil rights of the Stalinists, pointing out again and again the need for a united front of all working class organizations to fight successfully against the hounding and persecution of the witch-hunt and the so-called loyalty purges.

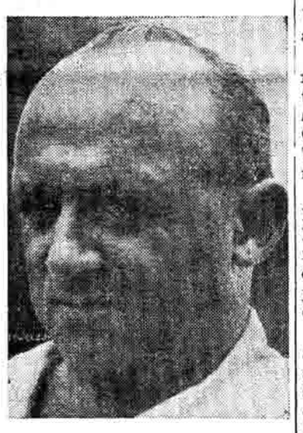
HURT THEIR OWN CASES

In two union meetings Stalinists attacked me. Also, their West Coast paper, the Peoples World, has printed vile articles about me and the SWP.

One question the Stalinists have found difficult to answer is why these press attacks when their members in the Los Angeles CIO Council voted to support my case. The CIO Council vote was unanimous

The Stalinist position is a shaky one, and they know it. By and large, the labor movement is ignoring them, however, and ridiculing their attempt to gain support for their own cases while denying support to others.

Despite the evil intrigues of the Stalinists, the workers generally are showing by their action in supporting me that they are increasingly aware of the issues involved in the witch-hunt and are prepared to mobilize against it.



JAMES KUTCHER

Buffalo CIO Votes City Stoppage to Back Bell Strike

34 Cited by Judge In Injunction Move

BUFFALO, Aug. 17 — The nine-week strike at the Bell Aircraft Corporation reached a climax last night when the Greater Buffalo CIO Council unanimously adopted a proposal to call a general work stoppage in this city to back the Bell strike. This action was endorsed after the council heard an impressive speech by a delegate from a CIO steel local followed by a number of representatives from Bell Local 501, CIO United Auto Workers.

This is one of the most significant developments in the history of the Buffalo labor movement, even though Hugh Thompson, CIO Council president, attempted to weaken the decision by announcing that UAW Local 501 and the UAW international "have complete veto power in regard to the resolution and the proposals it entails," and that "It's not an action which will necessarily cause an action."

The general stoppage resolution came as the reply of the local labor movement to the brazen attempt of the Bell company to smash the strike as well as the union of its employees. Arrogantly refusing to offer any concessions whatsoever on wage increases, the company, after numerous preparations, reopened its plant last Thursday, Aug. 11, and attempted to get a back-to-work movement going. The following day a mass demonstration took place at the Bell plant and no production workers have since returned to work, despite the fact that the UAW top leaders have permitted the office workers to go through the lines and that UAW Local 516, composed of the workers in the engineering division, have seen fit to continue working.

"CONTEMPT" CITATIONS

Labor's anger against the Bell company's strikebreaking reached a high point yesterday when Justice George H. Rowe of the N. Y. Supreme Court granted an order against 34 Bell strikers and UAW officials to show cause why they should not be punished for both civil and criminal contempt. This move was taken against the strikers for allegedly violating the injunction previously secured by the Bell Company on July 12. This vicious injunction restricted the number of pickets to no more than 15 at any one time, who are furthermore instructed to march 10 feet apart and are banned from "interfering" with both individuals and vehicles entering or leaving the plant.

The savage union-busting campaign of the Bell corporation is awakening the Bell strikers and many Buffalo workers elsewhere to the true character of labor-management relations today and re-teaching them the old truths that only by militancy and struggle can labor preserve its organizations and win decent living standards and working conditions.

He Needs Those Preservers!

Union Action Is Needed Now, But Labor Chiefs Do Nothing

In the face of mounting unemployment, which by official admission passed the four-million mark in July, the Truman administration has committed itself for the next period to a virtually do-nothing policy. This is bound to aggravate the plight of the jobless. It underscores the imperative need for immediate action by organized labor itself.

Washington's entire course is to minimize the problem of unemployment rather than to cope with it seriously. Consider the recent official move which designated as "critical areas" 11 localities in eight states; Rome and Utica, N. Y.; Worcester, New Bedford and Lawrence, Mass.; Bridgeport and Waterbury, Conn.; Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Providence, R. I.; Muskegon, Mich.; Cumberland, Md.; and Knoxville, Tenn.

In each of the above-listed areas unemployment is admittedly in excess of 12% of the labor force. This is the "minimum" fixed by the masterminds in Washington before they even deign to take notice of the plight of the jobless. **On a national scale such a "minimum" would mean between seven million and eight million unemployed!**

The tip-off on the official attitude is given by the Aug. 19 U. S. News which callously said: "Unemployment involving between three million and four million workers is beginning to be referred to as a normal 'float' to be expected even in good times..."

SITUATION "SOUND"

Actually the number of jobless is underplayed even in areas designated as "critical." In most of them it is closer to 20% than to the official figure of 12%. **A delegation of "civic, business and industrial representatives" of Muskegon, Mich., told Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer that "in the Upper Peninsula Copper country unemployment has risen 469% since October 1948. In Calumet the idle rate has gone up 1,515%." (Mich. CIO News, Aug. 4.)**

In addition to Muskegon, they cited four other "distress" areas: Jackson, Benton Harbor, Port Huron and the Upper Peninsula. Sawyer's comment was that business conditions in the Detroit area were "sound."

ADMINISTRATION ATTITUDE

But the pay-off on the administration's attitude is the fact that there is no intention to revive public works programs or launch special plans even in the "critical areas." Instead, "selective remedies" are to be applied. In particular the federal authorities will recommend that federal orders be siphoned into some of the industries in these areas.

Meanwhile there has been a sharp decline in contract awards for public construction in many of the worst hit sections of the country, according to an AP dispatch from Washington, Aug. 15. A similar drop has occurred in private construction and a government spokesman admits that "the general unemployment there will be increased by job-hunting construction workers."

The CIO News Service, Aug. 15, points out that in addition to more than four million unemployed there are "nine million or more persons working only part time — many of them not more than 20 hours a week." It goes on to say: "The situation is serious and it demands our attention."

BUT NO REAL ACTION

But the CIO's own modest program of mitigating the scourge of unemployment remains on paper. Not a single step has been taken thus far to realize it in life. As we pointed out last week, the CIO members are, at most, merely asked to individually appeal to Congressmen to support the CIO legislative program on unemployment.

As for the AFL leaders, their position remains indistinguishable from that of the most conservative capitalist spokesmen who dismiss the growth of unemployment as a "normal adjustment." AFL President Green recently "scoffed" at "depression fears" and the AFL Executive Council on Aug. 15 dismissed all talk of depression as "deliberate propaganda."

The millions already unemployed and other millions who are threatened with the loss of their livelihood cannot be fobbed off in this way. The situation demands not only attention but, above all, immediate ACTION.

Thought-Control Law in Maryland Ruled Illegal

A blow was dealt the witch-hunters on Aug. 13 when Circuit Court Judge Joseph Sherbow of Baltimore declared that Maryland's Ober "Anti-Subversives" Law, hailed as a "model" by reactionaries, is unconstitutional. He ruled that no law may punish a man "for thinking."

The judge issued a permanent injunction restraining the state attorney general and 72 other state officials from enforcing the law, which had provided for $5,000 fines and five years imprisonment for mere membership in "subversive organizations" and up to $20,000 fines and 20 years imprisonment for "subversive activities."

The Maryland law, said Judge Sherbow, "violates the basic freedoms guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments" to the U. S. Constitution, as well as the right of due process of law. Laws, he said, **"may not intrude into the realm of ideas, religious or political beliefs, and opinions. The law deals with overt acts, not thoughts. It may punish for acting, but not for thinking."**

Six faculty members of Johns Hopkins University and the Communist Party of Maryland filed two separate suits against the Ober law. The suits were argued jointly, however.

State officials plan to appeal Sherbow's ruling to the Circuit Court of Appeals with a possibility that he may be reversed.

German Election Results Please U. S. Imperialists

By Charles Hanley

The first "free elections" in Western Germany have resulted in a victory for the capitalist parties. In the new parliament (Bundestag) the Christian Democrats will get 139 seats. The bourgeois parties (Christian Democrats, Liberals, Neo-Fascists, Bavarians and others) have gained a total of 254 seats while the Social Democrats, the big party of German workers, got 131, and the Stalinists only 15 seats.

This means that most of the lower middle-class elements voted for the bourgeois parties and especially for the Vatican-directed Christian Democrats, vainly hoping that the American policy of strengthening a capitalist Germany would restore them to their former social and economic position. The German bourgeoisie also clearly supports the "democratic" rightist party, the Christian Democratic Union. The two neo-fascist parties supported by former active Nazis gained 22 seats.

WALL STREET PLEASED

The U. S. State Department and Wall Street are, of course, very pleased with the results of the Aug. 14 elections — it is just what they wanted. A strengthened German bourgeoisie greatly facilitates the ideological and material transformation of Western Germany into an offensive base against the Soviet Union.

The British are not so pleased. The Laborite government would have preferred a German Social Democratic government collaborating with their British colleagues and respecting the menaced economic interests of Great Britain much more than the Christian Democrats, tied to American capitalism, will ever do.

There will probably be formed an all-bourgeois government with Catholic Dr. Adenauer as federal Chancellor. Washington likes this much better than a coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats.

AIMS OF SD LEADERS

The Social Democratic leaders, would be only too willing to join a coalition with the Christian Democrats if the members of their party permitted them to do so. But the German workers are not in favor of collaboration with their class enemies.

The reformist bureaucrats of the party want some sort of compromise. They want to be installed in the administrative machine of the capitalists, and for them temporary political opposition is only a means for entering that machine. Thus an internal controversy is bound to develop in the local sections of the Social Democratic Party. Its outcome will be of great importance. A clarifying process will take place in the German labor movement. It has experienced Stalinism (in the Russian occupied zone) and rejects it definitely. It will presently become weary of reformist treachery too. Then will come the turn of the German socialist revolutionists.

An interview with
CARL SKOGLUND
Victim of the Witch-Hunt
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SUP MEMBERS BATTLE FOR UNION DEMOCRACY

SEATTLE — An epic struggle for union democracy and militancy is now in progress in the Northwest. The fight has come into the open with the publication of **The Defender** by the Seattle branch of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific and its attack on Harry Lundberg, SUP head, and his machine for violating the democratic rights of the membership and setting up a dictatorial rule in the union.

This battle emerges out of conditions where a bankrupt union leadership is attempting to solve unemployment and worsening conditions of work by a policy of raiding and strikebreaking, and trying to insure its own jobs by throttling democracy inside the union.

STRIKEBREAKING ISSUE

The struggle that is now joined between the Seattle branch and its supporters and the Lundberg machine had its origin in the Seattle branch meeting of May 23. John A. Mahoney, a well-known militant and formerly an SUP patrolman in Seattle, "asked for a point of information from the Agent through the Chair requesting to know who gave the officials or pie-cards the authority to send men through the Canadian Seamen's picketlines."

Immediately the Lundberg machine opened up an attack on Mahoney in all the ports under its control, accusing Mahoney of "playing the commies' game," asking "if Mahoney thought he was bigger than the union," and claiming "that he was anti-SUP," etc.

With the stage thus set, seven SUP officials filed charges against Mahoney in San Francisco on June 27, based upon Mahoney's inquiry. The next meeting of the Seattle branch took up the accusations, heard Mahoney's explanations and rendered the following verdict: "That John A. Mahoney was only exercising his democratic rights under the constitution of the SUP and that the committee completely exonerate Brother John A. Mahoney of the charges preferred by the seven officials at Headquarters."

But the Lundberg bureaucracy, determined to squelch any voices of dissent, continued to press its campaign. They elected a trial committee in San Francisco and ordered Mahoney to appear for the trial. This was in clear violation of the union constitution which provides that "any charge of violating the laws and rules of the Union made against any member must be submitted in writing to a regular meeting. Thereupon a trial committee of five full members shall be elected to which said charges shall be referred without discussion. Such committee shall be elected in a port most convenient to both accused and accuser, and witnesses."

ILLEGAL TRIAL HELD

As the Defender points out: "It is clear that under the provision of the Constitution the trial committee should have been elected and the trial held in Seattle."

The Lundberg crew went through its illegal trial, however, without Mahoney being present, and then Mahoney was declared expelled from the SUP.

The July 25 meeting of the

(Continued on page 3)

CP Still Defends Its Anti-Civil Rights Policy

By Art Preis

One month after the Bill of Rights Conference in New York City on July 16 and 17, the Communist Party is still trying desperately to "explain" why the Stalinists voted down the resolution, introduced by Prof. Thomas L. Emerson and the resolutions committee majority, to support the pardon campaign of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO leaders convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act before Pearl Harbor and imprisoned during the war.

The latest and lengthiest attempt to justify the Stalinist line of no civil rights for workingclass political opponents of Stalinism is made by Simon W. Gerson, a CP whip at the conference. His article in the Sunday, Aug. 14 Worker, headlined "Letter to a Liberal," repeats and elaborates the lies and slanders against the Trotskyists, previously made by Howard Fast in his letter in the July 11 Daily Compass, by the July 14 Daily Worker editorial, and by the Stalinist spokesmen, including Paul Robeson, at the conference.

FEAR TO FACE INQUIRY

Gerson's article is evidence that the Stalinists are unable to shake off the effects of their anti-civil rights action on liberal and labor opinion, including many of the leading sponsors of the Bill of Rights Conference. It testifies to the deep-going resentment against the CP's refusal to defend the civil liberties of those opposed to Stalinism.

Above all, the article is a further attempt to evade the demand by the Socialist Workers Party that the CP submit its libelous slanders to an impartial Commission of Inquiry, composed of liberal and labor representatives. By heaping up more abuse, the Stalinists hope to bury the demand for a Commission of Inquiry. Gerson's "Letter," in fact, is an example of why the Stalinists fear to face a Commission of Inquiry.

The "Letter" is addressed to "Dear P——" and is obviously aimed at Paul Kern, chairman of the conference, Prof. Emerson of Yale Law School, Corliss Lamont and other prominent liberals who spoke in favor of the resolution to defend the civil rights of Trotskyists.

TRIES TO REFUTE EMERSON

Gerson's chief aim is to refute the devastating testimony at the conference of Prof. Emerson, an outstanding legal expert on civil rights, who stated: "I have studied the record of the Minneapolis case [trial of the Trotskyists]. The trial of 1941 was a trial comparable to the one on Foley Square [where the CP is now being tried]. It was a trial of political opinion in peacetime. It was not a question of bearing arms or any overt act."

Gerson, however, insists that the two cases are "not parallel" and to "equate" them would "damage the case of the 12." **He cannot deny, of course, that the 18 Trotskyists were convicted under the Smith Act of 1940 which set the precedent for the prosecution of the Stalinists today under the same Act. The "damage" was done when the Stalinists cheered on the prosecution of the Trotskyists and defended their imprisonment by the government.**

Gerson, therefore, resorts to a shabby fraud. The Stalinists, he says, are "charged" only with "advocating" certain political ideas, while "in the Trotskyite case unlawful acts and conduct were ALLEGED . . . the Trotskyite INDICTMENT ALLEGED the arming of 'military units' and the procurement of 'explosives, firearms, weapons and military equipment.' The Trotskyites admitted from the stand (Record Pp. 454, 1015, etc.) to have stored rifles and to holding target practice."

WERE 'ALLEGATIONS' TRUE?

It doesn't take a lawyer to note Gerson's choice of the word "allege." He is careful not to say "convicted" of the allegations cited. Nevertheless, like the government prosecutor, Gerson is trying to give the impression that these "allegations" were true.

What Gerson alludes to is the charge made by the government in the Minneapolis case that the Union Defense Guard, set up in 1938 by Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO to defend the union hall from a threatened mob attack by the fascist Silver Shirts, was part of a "conspiracy" to overthrow the government "by force and violence." The testimony at the trial proved that this alleged "conspiracy" was voted on by the Local 544 membership, announced in the union's paper and reported in the daily press. The mere announcement of the formation of the Union Defense Guard made the fascist rats run for cover.

At the trial, the Trotskyist defendants freely "admitted" they supported this Union Guard and further testified that they proposed similar guards for all unions against terrorist attacks by the Coughlinites and other

(Continued on page 3)

Trotsky's Ideas Confirmed by World Events

The Crisis of Stalinism Testifies To Correctness of His Analysis

By William F. Warde

Leon Trotsky's major contribution to the movement for socialism in the latter years of his life dealt with the most serious and complex problem confronting the international working class today—the nature of Stalinism and how to combat its sinister influence. Trotsky explained Stalinism as the outgrowth of a peculiar combination of historical circumstances. The two main factors in its rise were the prolonged isolation of the first workers' state in the backward economy and culture of Russia and the failure of the socialist revolution to conquer power in the industrialized countries of the west.

The combined pressures of the peasant environment and the imperialist encirclement upon the ruling circles of the Soviet regime resulted in the formation of a new type of labor bureaucracy. Stalin was the leader and organizer of this group which strangled democracy in the Soviet Union, concentrated all power in its hands, and administered the government in its own selfish interests.

TROTSKY LED STRUGGLE

Shortly before his death Lenin was greatly disturbed by the first manifestations of these bureaucratic trends. In 1923 Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the Russian Communist Party first sounded the alarm and openly contended against them. The definitive split between the consistent revolutionary socialists and the growing reaction took place in 1924 when Stalin found the justification for the privileges and perpetual domination of his bureaucracy in the theory of "socialism in one country."

Trotsky pointed out that this break with Lenin's program of international socialist revolution meant socialism in no country, the Soviet Union included. Stalin's anti-Marxist position would in fact carry its proponents ever farther from the goals of socialism onto the opposite road of conciliation with capitalism and hostility to the mass movement toward socialism.

At first this appraisal of Stalin's course appeared far-fetched, absurd, impossible to many honest revolutionists. But further developments convinced many of the very people who joined Stalin to fight Trotsky that Trotsky's judgment was correct. Most dramatic were the cases of Zinoviev and Kamenev who with Stalin had formed the original ruling coalition in the Politbureau. In 1926 they admitted that Trotsky's condemnation of Stalinism was entirely justified. Three years later Bukharin arrived at a similar conclusion. In the purges of 1936-38 these men along with the entire generation of Lenin's associates were deprived of their lives and reputations by the despot in the Kremlin.

The frameups and massacre of the Old Bolsheviks gave bloody proof of Stalinism's mortal enmity to the traditions and doctrines of the Russian Revolution and exposed its completely counter-revolutionary nature.

Stalinism is the opposite of what it claims to be. It is not the continuator of Leninism, but its annihilator. It is not the creator of socialism, but its arch-enemy. It is not the leader and organizer of the revolutionary masses in their strivings to abolish capitalism but the suppressor and strangler of the socialist aspirations of the workers.

This was amply confirmed by the international role of the Stalinists in the period between the two world wars. The main defeats of the revolutionary movement can be traced to false policies imposed on the working class by the Communist parties.

The landmarks along this road are the subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to the Kuomintang in 1925-26 which paved the way for Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship; the stupid policy of "social-fascism" which reinforced the split in the ranks of the German workers and permitted Nazism to march to power in 1933; the "People's-Front" coalitions with the "progressive" and "democratic" bourgeois parties which in 1936-1938 undermined the Spanish Revolution, helped Franco conquer, and derailed the offensive of the French working class. Finally Stalin's pact with Hitler helped unleash the Second World War and consummated the demoralization of the European masses.

These crimes and catastrophes reduced the international prestige of Stalinism to its lowest point in the early part of the war. But Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the Big Three alliance, the Russian Army victories, and the energy of Communist workers in the European resistance movements produced a sharp reversal of attitude. The masses turned toward the Kremlin and its parties for guidance in the search for socialism; the Soviet Union emerged as the second world power and appeared to be, not only master of Europe, but a contender for world supremacy.

SOME "REAPPRAISALS"

At this pinnacle of its popularity and power Stalinism completely overshadowed Trotskyism and appeared to have conquered decisively. Impressionable radicals announced that Trotsky's views on Stalinism had been refuted and reappraisals were in order. Some, taken in by the wartime propaganda, believed that the Big Three coalition would persist unchanged following the peace. Others saw in the rulers of Russia the embodiment of a new class, the representatives of a new form of society, bureaucratic collectivism, which aimed to expand throughout the globe in a contest for world power with monopoly capitalism.

Still others glorified the Moscow bureaucracy as a brutal but historically necessary agency of socialist reconstruction. These apologists were willing to forgive the Kremlin's suppression of the masses, its plunder and imposition of reparations upon the occupied countries, the brutal uprooting of millions of people, its rule by terror and violence on the ground that these countries were being drawn into the orbit of "socialist construction" in the "new democracies."

Whether their ideas were developed by way of attraction to Stalinism or repulsion from it, these opponents of Trotskyism all agreed that the Kremlin gang had profound roots in present-day society, rested upon strong and stable foundations, and was capable of maintaining its power and increasing it indefinitely.

Altogether different was the Trotskyist conception of the nature and prospects of Stalinism. Despite its episodic successes and show of strength, the Stalinist regime is plagued with insoluble antagonisms and insurmountable contradictions which subject it to colossal convulsions and continual crises. The very processes of expansion which turned the heads of the anti-Trotskyist theorists, would serve in the end, said the Trotskyists, to bring to light the inner weaknesses of Stalinism, multiply its difficulties, sharpen its contradictions.

Recent events have submitted the rivals views on Stalinism to a fresh test, shaking the former confidence in the durability of Stalinism and reaffirming the validity of Trotsky's teachings. World Stalinism is gripped by an acute crisis. The sudden rupture of relations between Belgrade and Moscow which took the whole world by surprise and is approaching the verge of open conflict is to date its most extreme expression. To one degree or another similar rifts have taken place in most of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe. The purges among the CP leadership in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the liquidation of Markos Vafiades, general of the Greek guerrillas, testify to the resistance against the Kremlin within the very apparatus of international Stalinism. And these are only the first visible cracks in its totalitarian structure.

This crisis in Stalinism has been called forth by the brutal methods of its domination. Having abandoned the socialist concepts of solidarity, equality and fraternity among nations for rabid nationalism, greed and oppression, the Moscow bureaucracy inflicts upon the satellite countries the same abominable methods of deceit and force which characterize its tyranny over the Soviet people. The continual clashes between the reactionary conduct of these cynical careerists, bent exclusively upon extending their power, revenues and privileges, and the life-interests and democratic and socialist aspirations of the workers and peasants inevitably provoke waves of revulsion which extend into the topmost circles of the Communist-controlled regimes.

Meanwhile, events in the Far East cast new light on another aspect of Stalinism: its basically counter-revolutionary role under objectively revolutionary conditions. The collapse of Chiang's regime and the impossibility of large-scale imperialist intervention have opened a clear field for the advance to victory of the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution. But instead of organizing the masses for the seizure of power and abolishing landlordism and capitalism so that China can be reconstructed along democratic and socialist lines, the Chinese Stalinist leaders are holding back the armed insurgent peasants, shielding the landlords and usurers, guaranteeing capitalist property and exploitation, and straitjacketing the labor movement in the cities. Here again Stalinism reveals before our eyes that its reactionary methods serve essentially reformist aims.

Like other bureaucracies, the gang in the Kremlin thinks it can go forward indefinitely by tricking, despising and degrading the masses, by making deals with the imperialists, and getting rid of opponents to their treacherous policies by force and frameups. Stalin, for example, thought his assassination of Leon Trotsky in 1940 would likewise deal the death blow to the Fourth International he founded to carry through the struggle for socialism.

But the movement Trotsky created displayed its indestructible vitality by surviving not only the loss of its foremost leader but the terrible tests of the war years. Each time Stalin purges "the last remnants of Trotskyism," it springs up in a different form and from another direction to confront the Kremlin and its agencies.

Why is this? Because Trotskyism really is the authentic movement for the socialist emancipation of the world working class based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The inherent power of Trotskyism goes beyond the program and world organization which give it the most conscious and comprehensive expression. It resides above all in the indomitable urge of the masses suffering under capitalism to find their way to a better life.

Stalinism blocks the road to socialism; Trotskyism shows the workers how to reach it. Thus the incurable weakness of Stalinism is the invincible strength of Trotskyism. The very social forces which are today disintegrating the power of Stalinism will sooner or later in their further development topple it altogether. The decline and doom to which the Kremlin bureaucracy is predestined will vindicate to the full the foresight and truth of the ideas for which Trotsky sacrificed his life nine years ago.

LEON TROTSKY
1879-1940

Foretold Labor Trend in Era of Capitalist Decay

By Art Preis

After his death at the hands of a GPU assassin on Aug. 22, 1940, there was found in Leon Trotsky's desk a manuscript, in incomplete form, of his analysis of the trends of the labor movement in the present epoch of capitalist decay. These notes were published in the February, 1941, **Fourth International** magazine under the title: "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay."

Nine years after his death, Trotsky's observations illuminate in brilliant fashion the problems of labor in America today. They provide a realistic and sound answer to the questions that are vexing progressive and militant workers in the unions.

Why has the top union leadership, in spite of the enormous strength of American organized labor, failed to lead a successful struggle to maintain labor's share in the national income? Why did the union leaders bow to the government's wage-freeze edict during the war? Why were they so helpless to prevent the Taft-Hartley Act and now have given up virtually all serious opposition to it? Why are they imitating the government witch-hunters with a witch-hunt of their own inside the unions? Why are they so passive now in the face of rising unemployment and growing economic crisis?

MONOPOLY AND THE STATE

Trotsky pointed out: "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations in the entire world: **it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power.**"

This "growing together" derives, he said, from the social conditions common for all unions under present-day capitalism, above all, the domination of monopoly capital.

"Monopoly capitalism," said Trotsky, "does not rest on competition and free private initiative, but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etc., view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter."

We see today how Big Business rules the two major political parties and dictates to Congress the laws it must pass and the bills it must reject. We see how Wall Street bankers and corporation executives staff the key cabinet and administrative posts under Truman.

UNIONS AND THE STATE

Thus, Trotsky pointed out, the trade unions "have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions — insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property — to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation."

To the bureaucracy of the trade union movements, "the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war."

CONFIRMED BY EVENTS

How fully events of the past nine years in America confirm this analysis. We saw how the top trade union leadership at the very start of the war hastened to give up labor's right to strike, collaborated with the government in imposing the War Labor Board and its wage freeze on the unions, **acted as a policeman over the unions and hounded and victimized the union militants.**

And this process of "growing together" with the capitalist state has been intensified since the war. The top union leaders have placed themselves at the service of the capitalist government in selling its imperialist foreign policy and war preparations. The CIO leadership, for instance, has declared "CIO policy" to be active support of the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic military pact, of the bi-partisan war program and of the capitalist two-party system. And any CIO leader or union that does not go along, is faced with victimization and ultimate expulsion.

The "democratic" union bureaucracies contend that there is a complete opposition between the organization of labor in fascist and "totalitarian" countries and in the so-called "democracies." **But Trotsky showed that "by transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."**

TASK TROTSKY POSED

Trotsky posed the task in the labor movement in America, and in all capitalist countries, as the struggle to free the unions from the "totalitarian regime" within them and to replace "the leaders enforcing this regime." The trade unions of our time, he said, "can either serve as the secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the socialist revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

The primary slogan for transforming the trade unions into effective bodies that will aid in the emancipation of labor from the rule of monopoly capital is: **"Complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.** This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy."

And the complement to this slogan is a second one: **"Trade Union Democracy.** This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist state."

These two slogans must become the battle-cry of the union militants. Around these slogans must be rallied all the progressive ranks of labor. A new leadership must be built, endowed with real social vision, free of all ties with the capitalist state, and uncompromising in struggle against the monopoly capitalist system. This task, which Trotsky pointed out so clearly and forcefully, has become unpostponable.

The United States and Europe

Among Leon Trotsky's special contributions to the Marxist analysis of our epoch is his estimate of the role of the United States and its interrelations with the rest of the world. Reprinted below are extracts from the leading editorial in the July-August issue of Quatrieme International, theoretical magazine of the Fourth International, which deals with Trotsky's views on this subject in the light of current events — Ed.

* * *

Leon Trotsky consistently emphasized both the central role played by the U. S. in the capitalist world as well as the highly contradictory character of this role. On the one hand, this country has attained by far the greatest and most formidable concentration of economic power ever achieved under capitalism while the other capitalist powers have steadily declined. On the other hand, this ascendancy of the U. S. over the rest of the capitalist world which is in acute decay has not eliminated any of the contradictions of capitalism but, on the contrary, has concentrated and aggravated them and multiplied their explosiveness.

Trotsky insisted that the march of the U. S. to world ascendancy would never be that of a "super-imperialism" able to organize and "plan" world capitalist economy in its own fashion. It would, on the contrary, result in still further aggravating the unbalance of world capitalism, speeding its decay, adding to the universal chaos and causing the United States itself to suffer more and more. Events have brought brilliant verification to this dialectical Marxist analysis.

THE CRISIS IN THE U. S.

Thanks to favorable war and postwar conditions, American economy soared to unparalleled peaks of production, employment and profits by 1948. But since last October the economic curve has turned downwards. Leaning over the ailing giant, and while still professing that only a "crisis psychosis" is the "real danger," the capitalist economists, politicians and journalists have gradually wiped the smiles off their faces and are showing signs of frank concern.

Truman refuses to admit that he is confronted with a real crisis: it is simply a "recession" for which he offers measures primarily intended to enlarge the capacity of the internal market. As for foreign policy, which American imperialism expects to pursue as a means of combatting the depression, Truman has up till now added nothing to the measures and projects already under way.

To what extent will such a policy succeed in postponing the unfolding of the depression into an open crisis?

It is true that certain factors which helped invest the 1929 crisis with its explosive character do not exist today. Thus, credit is distributed more rationally and does not lead to a "chain of bankruptcies"; most of the agricultural products are propped up by government subsidies and the purchasing power of the farmers is not immediately menaced by a brutal gutting; the program of social security, public works and, above all, of armaments can for a certain time play the role of cushioning the depression.

Nevertheless this policy is destined to fail for two reasons. First, because the growth of domestic purchasing power cannot go hand in hand with a policy of unproductive armaments, which tend to increase all the while. Secondly, because the policy of expansion on the world market must run up against the needs of other capitalist countries, operating to their detriment and provoking revolutionary consequences.

Meanwhile, the slump which has set in the U. S. can prove each day even more dangerous for capitalist Europe and other capitalist countries than for the U. S. itself. The British crisis is a most striking example. It actually illuminates the crisis in the relations between the U. S. and the rest of the capitalist world, in the first instance, Europe. Short-sighted individuals believe that they can solve by technical, financial and commercial means (convertibility of currency, multi-lateral trade, and the like) the problems of the organic imbalance of the capitalist world (expressed in the lop-sided balance of trade of the U. S., the impossibility of other capitalist countries to import from the U. S. without being able to export there, etc.)

NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION

But how can other capitalist countries catch up with the productive power of the U. S. and its great superiority both in production and productivity? How, under capitalism, can a world market be reestablished whose flow will not be one-sided, i.e., from the U. S. to Europe, but also able to flow in the opposite direction? In capitalist terms all these problems are beyond solution and prominent capitalist observers, such as Walter Lippman, for example, confess themselves stumped for an answer.

Actually, the slump in the United States must inexorably worsen the disequilibrium and force Wall Street to grab up more and more of the world market. This means that ahead lie days of growing difficulties, especially grave for the European capitalists, who will see their share of the world market restricted precisely at a time when they will be in direst need.

The only avenues of respite can be found, on the one side, in the growth of armaments, with the inevitable prospect of war and, on the other, in the resumption of trade with the USSR, with satellite countries in Eastern Europe and with China.

Capitalism is already deeply engaged in the policy of armaments. Ratification of the Atlantic Pact, preparation of the Pacific Pact and the like will not significantly alter the situation. There remains the alternative way of softening the crisis — trade with the USSR and its satellites.

There are indications that Wall Street is much more inclined to have Washington ease up on the blockade of this zone and seize the first opportunity to trade with Mao Tse-tung's China, in particular The Kremlin, for its part, is speculating on this eventuality which would permit it to cope with its own economic difficulties and avert war for a certain time, a war which the U. S. will unfailingly undertake when it feels itself in an economic blind-alley.

In such circumstances it is possible that the Kremlin will soft-pedal its fake "left-turn" in order to appease Washington and prolong the truce. Stalinist policy is now obviously indecisive and embarrassed by the new world situation. It is still too early to predict the precise direction it will take in the next period.

The world Trotskyist movement does not base its policy on conjunctures or the agreements and plans of either Washington or the Kremlin. The Fourth International bases its policy on the fundamental Marxist analysis of the epoch in which we live, on the general tendencies we perceive in the objective evolution of capitalism and Stalinism and on our unlimited confidence in the revolutionary potential of the proletariat and of the colonial masses.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIII - No. 34 Monday, August 22, 1949

TROTSKY

"Stalinism. . . is not an abstraction of 'dictatorship,' but an immense bureaucratic reaction against the proletarian dictatorship in a backward and isolated country. The October Revolution abolished privileges, waged war against social inequality, replaced the bureaucracy with self-government of the toilers, abolished secret diplomacy, strove to render all social relationships completely transparent. Stalinism reestablished the most offensive forms of privileges, imbued inequality with a provocative character, strangled self-activity under police absolutism, transformed administration into a monopoly of the Kremlin oligarchy and regenerated the fetishism of power in forms that absolute monarchy dared not dream of."
— Leon Trotsky, **Their Morals and Ours**, 1938.

LENIN

The Heritage of Leon Trotsky

In this issue we commemorate the ninth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's death at the hands of one of Stalin's hired killers. It would take several volumes to do full justice alone to the deeds of this man who worked side by side with Lenin to found the first workers' republic in history; who, as organizer of the Red Army, was principally responsible for safeguarding the existence of the USSR through the Civil War and who devoted the last 17 years of his life to an irreconcilable struggle, in the face of insuperable odds, against the Stalinist usurpers and betrayers.

Trotsky's monumental accomplishments in the realm of deeds are paralleled by his contributions in the realm of thought.

He struggled all his life under the banner of orthodox Marxism. And it is his outstanding merit that he succeeded in preserving intact the century-old arsenal of Marxist theory, the product of the titanic labors of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Trotsky greatly enriched the system of Marxism by applying its ideas and method to the realities of our epoch, the epoch of imperialist decay. His rightful place is alongside Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is characteristic of periods of reaction, such as the one in which we live, that brute force and the physical instrumentalities of oppression temporarily dominate the scene and appear to be omnipotent. The power of ideas, above all, the scientific ideas of Marxism, appears for the moment obscured. It is the season of demagogues, cynics, obscurantists and the common garden-variety philistines. It is the season of "public burials" of Trotskyism, just as Marxism itself has been pronounced "buried" each time the pendulum of history happened to oscillate to the side of reaction.

The really invincible power is the power of the most advanced and progressive ideas, the ideas of orthodox Marxism which concentrate the experiences and lessons of the past and point the only road to the socialist future.

It is this conviction that imbued Trotsky all his conscious life. It is this conviction that enabled him to fulfill his role as the true continuator of the work and ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is this conviction that he has bequeathed to his co-thinkers and disciples. It constitutes the most precious part of his heritage to the world Trotskyist movement and is a guarantee of its ultimate victory.

Stalin's "Cold War" Against Tito

Moscow's blast against Yugoslavia as an "enemy and foe" has been followed by the recall of Ambassador Lavrentiev from Belgrade. The growing tension between the two countries, highlighted by Tito's recent warning to his Macedonian garrison to guard against possible provocations and invasion, has brought their "cold war" close to boiling point. The world press is openly speculating whether the Kremlin's economic, political and diplomatic blockade are preparations for military moves and maneuvers against Yugoslavia.

The hostility of the Soviet government toward Yugoslavia throws a glaring light upon the utterly reactionary nature of Stalinism. The Kremlin and its supporters never tire of repeating that the Soviet Union and imperialism can and should coexist peacefully and collaborate in a friendly spirit. At the same time Moscow and its satellites cut off all relations with Yugoslavia, menace its government, term it a mortal foe. The logic of such words and deeds can only be war to the death against the present rulers of Yugoslavia.

How can such a course be justified? The Soviet Union is the world's second greatest power. Its security can in no way be threatened by Yugoslavia. They do not have a common frontier. Yugoslavia is a small land, just recovering from the ravages of prolonged civil and imperialist strife, with resources and manpower far inferior to those at the command of the Kremlin. Yugoslavia is not an imperialist, but a semi-colonial country, which has no urge to expand its territory at the expense of the USSR.

Moreover, from the social standpoint, Yugoslavia has gone farther than any other country in Eastern Europe toward eliminating capitalist property and building a social structure resembling that of the Soviet Union. Marshall Tito constructed his own regime upon that of Generalissimo Stalin and, until the sudden rupture of relations a year ago, it was hailed as a model by the entire Stalinist world movement.

The facts show that in this case Stalin is indubitably the aggressor and oppressor, aiming to strangle Yugoslavia, rob its people of independence, and drown resistance in blood. The Kremlin wants to exterminate "Titoism" as a warning lesson to any other section of world Stalinism or satellite power that dares question its divine right or resists its monstrous tyranny.

Those who still believe that Stalinism is "socialist" and "progressive" should carefully consider Moscow's attitude toward Yugoslavia which violates the elementary principles of both democracy and socialism.

The Military Mind at Work

The joint Senate committees have been holding hearings on the new arms bill. The only ones permitted to testify have been the administration spokesmen and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who, it goes without saying, spoke in favor.

Thereupon the hearings were declared at an end. To explain this high-handed and unparalleled procedure, Senator Connally, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee and chairman of the hearings, curtly stated that it would be "against public interest" to hear oppositional views to the bill.

The public outcry that ensued has forced a reversal of this action. Senate hearings on the arms bill are to be resumed, and opponents will be given a formal opportunity to air their views. But this is obviously a mere gesture. It does not alter in the least the significance of the original action.

It shows how far and fast this country has come under the domination of the military mind. The quintessence of the military mind is to issue orders and to have them unquestioningly carried out. Senator Connally and his colleagues have demonstrated by their action how pervasive this heel-clicking Prussian atmosphere has become in Washington. Everything that contravenes the desires and commands of the military is branded out-of-hand "against public interest."

Only those who have something to hide fear the expression of oppositional views. What then are they hiding? They are hiding a conspiracy to drag this country into still another world war. A component part of this conspiracy is to install a military dictatorship over the American people.

The main pre-conditions for carrying out this conspiracy have already been prepared. They have installed, for the first time since the founding of the U.S., a huge conscript army in peacetime. Throughout history such armies have been the hotbeds of Big Brass conspiracy. Throughout history such armies and dictatorial rule have gone hand in hand.

They are feeding this military monster with colossal annual budgets for armaments. They now want additional billions for "foreign aid." The power of the military waxes in direct proportion to military expenditures. So does their arrogance and arbitrariness and their readiness to trample on the last vestiges of democratic rights.

To be sure, the Senatorial arms hearings are only an episode. But this episode is simple and easy to grasp. It unfolds to public view the military mind at work and along with it the most nefarious conspiracy in world history which the Prussian-minded gang in Washington is promoting.

Carl Skoglund Answers the Witch-Hunters

By George Clarke

They may be able to deport Carl Skoglund, but they cannot break the spirit of this rugged old fighter in the ranks and leadership of the American labor movement ever since he came to this country from Sweden in 1911. This was the impression I came away with after an inspiring two-hour discussion with the former president of the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544.

"This is not the first time that the bosses and their government have tried to eliminate me from the struggles of the labor movement," Carl said. For the first ten or eleven years after he came to America, he had worked as a lumberjack and in building construction and the railroad industry.

"Then came the shopmen's strike of 1922, which was savagely crushed by the employers as the opening gun of the big open shop drive of the twenties. They turned on the militants and progressives in the leadership of the strike, and I was one of the many fired from my job as a carman and blackballed from the railroads."

Carl recalled also that in that same period the anti-red hysteria was picked up by the AFL misleaders of labor and turned against the militants in the unions — "just as it is today." In 1924 he was expelled from the Minneapolis Central Labor Union for his political views — that is, for advocating industrial unionism, the organization of the mass production industries and militant economic and political labor action.

NEVER STOPPED BATTLING

"Ten years later, when we were organizing the Minneapolis truck-drivers and engaged in the big strike, they tried again to get us out of the way. They put the leaders of the union in a stockade in an attempt to behead the union.

"And of course you know about the Minneapolis Trial of 1941, and the fact that we were the first to be tried, convicted and sent to jail under the Smith Act that is now being used against the Communist Party, so there is no need for me to discuss that with you."

Such experiences might have discouraged or demoralized a weaker man than Carl Skoglund. But there was no trace of remorse or pessimism in his voice as he summed up the meanig of those experiences:

"OUR IDEAS WILL WIN"

"These were the penalties the bosses visited upon the militants in the vanguard of the workers' struggle. But our ideas always proved more powerful than their economic sanctions, the courts and the prisons.

"We came out of the stockade to win what seemed to be a broken strike. We fought our way back into the AFL to lead the biggest union movement that city ever knew, and to extend its influence over hundreds of thousands of workers. And the great CIO finally swept aside the moss-backed bureaucrats who had stood in the way of mass organization and industrial unionism."

The Minneapolis Trial, the power of the federal and state governments and Daniel J. Tobin's goons succeeded in driving Carl Skoglund and his associates out of the unions. But the last chapter of that struggle has still to be written.

"We are still on the receiving end," Carl admitted. "But our principles, carried forward by another mighty movement of the masses, are bound to triumph as the truth always does. I am as sure of that as I am of daylight after the passing of the night."

SPEAKS FOR OTHERS

Skoglund has his hands full nowadays fighting the efforts of the government to deport him. But several times during our discussion he digressed in order to emphasize the fact that he is not the only one of the leaders of the famous Local 544 who are suffering persecution at the hands of the government, the employers and the trade union bureaucrats.

"Of the 16 leading officials of

CARL SKOGLUND

Local 544 in the days when it was a union workers were proud of, the majority have been unable to gain employment in private industry," he said. "Those who managed to evade the attention of the union-busting employers were tracked down by the reactionary union officials and driven off their jobs. A good many were forced to quit Minneapolis where they had made homes and reared families. The officials even followed me onto a job entirely out of their jurisdiction — a small private business — and threatened physical violence against me if I did not leave town."

HOUND FOREIGN-BORN

This campaign of revenge against Skoglund and the Minnesota Trotskyists has been carried on jointly by both capitalist parties. The Republican Governor Stassen joined with the Democrat Roosevelt to smash Local 544-CIO in 1941. Tom Clark's efforts to deport Skoglund were preceded by the threats of Stassen's machine as far back as 1938.

It was on the occasion of a Farmer-Labor Party convention when one of Stassen's secretaries approached Carl and warned him that if he didn't watch his step, "We're going to get you. You're not even a voter." This was at a time when Skoglund was making one of his many attempts to get his citizenship papers.

Speaking of this and other incidents in a long and eventful life, Carl says: "As far as these tools of monopoly capitalism are concerned, the only right a foreign-born worker is entitled to is the right to sweated labor, a flat in the slums and a pauper's grave. Those who stand up and fight back have additional rights — prison terms and deportation. And in Congress right now they are trying to pass a law permitting the government to set up concentration camps and fill them with foreign-born workers whom they cannot deport."

"WORLD IS MY COUNTRY"

Carl concluded our discussion in a characteristic declaration of the defiance against oppression that has marked his whole life:

"There is one citizenship they cannot deprive me of, and that is citizenship in the working class movement. I took out those papers back in Sweden when I was 16 or 17 years old, a member of the Young Socialists and of the union in the paper mill where I worked.

"Throughout the years I think I have served that movement faithfully and to the best of my ability. The fight against my deportation from the United States now is only another stage in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers from the slavery and tyranny of this system. The time is coming when governments all over the world will recognize loyalty to the interests of the working people as the highest form of citizenship.

"As Thomas Paine put it, 'The world is my country, all the people in the world my brothers and sisters, and to do good is my religion'."

CP 'Explains' Civil Rights Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

fascist groups then beginning to physically assault unionists, radicals, Jews and Negroes. They also "admitted" that the Socialist Workers Party issued the leaflet that mobilized 50,000 anti-fascist demonstrators in February 1939 around Madison Square Garden where the German-American Bund was holding its rally.

THE JURY'S VERDICT

Did the jury believe the government's "allegation"? Gerson states that the "jury found the Trotskyites guilty of one of the two counts in the indictment." Which one? Gerson knows, but he won't tell.

The hand-picked federal jury ACQUITTED all the Trotskyist defendants of all charges — twelve of them — under Count 1. This was the only count charging "overt acts," including the procurement of "explosives," "storing of rifles," etc.

Gerson glibly cites the "record" — hoping no one will read it. Anyone who does read the record, will find out that the 18 Trotskyist defendants were convicted only on Count 2, based entirely on the Smith Act, charging that they "did advocate, abet, advise and teach the duty" of "overthrowing and destroying the Government by force and violence" — the identical charge, under the same law, now hurled at the Stalinists.

CONVICTED AS MARXISTS

As a matter of fact, the government prosecutors themselves did not lay stress on "overt acts" in the Minneapolis Case. In his opening statement for the prosecution, U. S. District Attorney Victor E. Anderson emphasized: "It is the position of the government in this case that proof of overt acts is not required and that the conspiracy in itself is unlawful." What was that "conspiracy"? Anderson said: **"The very program of the Socialist Workers Party is a violation of the statutes." Because, he said, the program of the SWP called for "doing in America what was done by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia in October, 1917." He added: "It is going to be the plan of the government in this case to show that Lenin and Trotsky based their philosophy on the Marxist philosophy. Not only were these defendants Trotskyites, but their basic belief is based on Marx, so they are Marxists."**

In short, the 18 Trotskyists were tried and convicted for advocating the ideas of Marxian socialism. This, above all, is what the Stalinists, like Gerson, are trying the blot out of the records.

MORE FALSIFICATIONS

Gerson's article does not end with his falsification about "overt acts." He tries to imply that the Minneapolis Case was not a peacetime trial. At the same time, he seeks to "correct" the too-glaring lie of Howard Fast in the **Daily Compass** that the trial took place during the time the U. S. actually was at war.

Gerson, placing the trial in its "historical context," writes that "they were indicted on July 15, 1941" and "sentenced the day after Pearl Harbor." What he does not state is that all the views and acts alleged by the government occurred before June 22, 1941, the day Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and the day the American CP changed its slogan from "The Yanks Are Not Coming" to "The Yanks Are Not Coming Fast Enough." Nor does he tell that the case was initiated by direct orders of Roosevelt on June 13, 1941, as reported in the June 14, 1941, **N. Y. Times.**

The Stalinist post-dating of the start of the case until after June 22, 1941, is necessitated by the fact that in the very week Roosevelt issued his orders for the Trotskyist prosecution, the Daily Worker was still calling Roosevelt an "imperialist warmonger" and denouncing the war preparations. Then they were also "guilty" of opposing the coming war — only the Stalinists betrayed the anti-war fight after June 22, 1941.

WHO DEFENDED THE 18

This post-dating of the Minneapolis case also enables Gerson to claim that the Trotskyist "trial took place when the character of the war was almost universally recognized as a world anti-fascist struggle" — that is, when the Stalinists became the loudest drum-beaters for American imperialist entry into the war. And Gerson claims the prosecution of the Trotskyists "reflected a popular verdict against the Trotskyite policy of opposing the arms of a nation on the brink of a giant anti-Axis effort. . . American liberal and labor opinion did **not** . . . support the Trotskyites."

The opposite is true. Labor and liberal organizations representing more than 5 million members — including the CIO United Auto Workers, AFL Ladies Garment Workers, American Civil Liberties Union, and literally hundreds of state and local organizations — backed the defense of the Trotskyists.

Gerson offers as a further argument that the Stalinists only refuse to defend "fascists" and "Ku Kluxers" and tries to tie these slimy labels to the Trotskyists. But he claims the CP does not refuse to defend other political opponents, citing the case of Tom Mooney, "a militant Socialist,' Sacco and Vanzetti, "anarchists," the Scottsboro boys and the Trenton Six.

WHAT GERSON OMITS

Why doesn't Gerson mention Warren K. Billings, who went to prison with Mooney? Because Billings is right now under persecution by the CP for his defense of the civil rights of Verne Smith, an expelled CP member. And it is likewise well known that when the International Labor Defense fought to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, the head of the ILD was James P. Cannon, now National Secretary of the SWP and a defendant in the Minneapolis Case. The case of the Trenton Six and Scottsboro boys did not involve political beliefs at all.

Gerson and the CP, however, cannot point to a single case where the Stalinists have defended the civil rights of any member or sympathizer of an organized workingclass political opposition to Stalinism.

Put so great is the reaction among liberals to the CP line on civil rights, that Gerson has to introduce an apparent modification of the Stalinist policy of vicious attack on any liberals who come out for the defense of the civil rights of the Trotskyists. Gerson claims — contrary to the previous line of Howard Fast and the **Daily Worker** — "Nor do we Communists set as a condition for the united front that liberals accept our estimate of various disruptive groups, including the Trotskyists." The CP will merely oppose and disrupt **any united front formed to defend all victims of the witch-hunt,** including the Trotskyists.

By denying the direct link between the first prosecution under the Smith Act and the present Foley Square trial, the Stalinists weaken their own defense by antagonizing the genuine liberal defenders of civil rights. They also undermine the possibility for united front struggle against the witch-hunt.

SUP Members In Struggle for Union Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

Seattle branch replied by adopting the report presented by its special committee elected previously to review the Mahoney Case and ordered the report published because "this report was suppressed by the arbitrary, undemocratic and unconstitutional action of the SUP officials in San Francisco." The report, after reviewing all the facts of the case, demands that "Brother John A. Mahoney should be completely exonerated on all charges" and finds "that the action taken in Headquarters is unconstitutional."

UNION DEMOCRACY ISSUE

The Mahoney case has already stirred the membership of the SUP and is bound to have great repercussions throughout the whole West Coast labor movement. This case does not involve some individual grievance, nor is it peculiar to the SUP. It epitomizes, as a matter of fact, the key struggle for democracy inside the labor movement. The **Defender** sums up the situation aptly in its leading editorial: "What has happened in the Mahoney case is the result of a gradual and steady process in our union whereby the authority of the membership has been usurped by the officialdom."

The SUP membership of Portland has already voted overwhelmingly in support of the Seattle action and in Wilmington, the Lundberg machine was able to force through a vote backing its expulsion by the narrow margin of 83 to 72.

Workers Forum

Baltimore Reader Cites Evidence of Clerical Reaction

Editor:

Additional evidence of the role of the Catholic hierarchy as an agent of reaction and foe of socialism was given at a meeting sponsored by the Maryland Catholic Action Guild, on July 20, at St. Ignatius Church, here in Baltimore. The subject of the meeting was "How to Combat Communism." The principal speaker was a priest, the Rev. John L. Bazinet.

The gist of the speech was that additional meetings were to be held and speakers trained for the purpose of trying to pacify the working men and women who are increasingly feeling the squeeze between declining salaries and incomes, and the fantastically inflated prices of food, rent, and the other necessities of life. Also, people are to be assigned to con newspapers for pro-socialist and anti-religious articles, and collaborationist labor relations classes are to be set up.

An interesting admission was made during the meeting. It was stated that the Guild was not permitting members of other religious groups to participate, since they were acting under direct orders of the Baltimore Archbishop, and the Archbishop was acting under the direct orders of the Pope in Rome.

It is interesting to speculate whether this Guild and its members should not be forced to register as agents of a foreign power, since they are acting on the direct orders of an Italian Pope.

I have been reading your paper for some two months, and have been particularly impressed with the articles on Socialized Medicine, and the hard-hitting cartoon in the July 4 issue.

Wishing you success in your efforts to expose the falsifications in the reactionary capitalistic press.

R. D.
Baltimore, Md.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1949 — NUMBER 34

American Labor Party in N.Y. Torn by New Internal Crisis

By Ruth Johnson

New York's American Labor Party is torn by a new crisis. It has been dominated by the Stalinists since the split, first by Dubinsky's AFL Ladies Garment Workers, which helped form the Liberal Party, and then by the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Today the issue is a struggle for democracy within the ALP. Its focal point is the campaign of City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly to secure the party's nomination as candidate for Borough President of Manhattan.

Connolly has differed with the Stalinists for years over ALP electoral policies. In 1946, for instance, against the bitter opposition of Stalinist Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Connolly proposed a Negro for State Supreme Court Justice and called for the nomination of independent candidates instead of Democrats for judiciary posts.

At a meeting of the New York County ALP Executive Committee on June 17, Marcantonio became infuriated by Connolly's determination to run for Borough President. He threatened Connolly: "I will fight you with a Negro candidate."

The next week, at an Executive Committee meeting which the Stalinists packed with non-members, Ewart Guinier, a Negro hand-picked by Marcantonio, was declared nominated — although a majority of the Executive Committee members, 35 out of 62, voted for the nomination of Connolly. Both designees are now circulating petitions, and the decision will be made at the primaries on Sept. 6.

The Stalinists instantly launched a slander campaign against Connolly, led off by Guinier who publicly assailed Connolly as "an anti-Negro, anti-Marcantonio, anti-Wallace, pro-O'Dwyer renegade from ALP policies." Although Connolly has filed suit against Guinier for defamation of character, the slanders continue.

The Stalinists have resorted to more than verbal attacks. At the June 17 meeting, Connolly was physically assaulted, struck in the face and his glasses knocked off. **Today's Outlook**, published by the Committee for Democracy and Unity in the ALP, which is backing Connolly, reports:

"Meetings have been packed and club officers illegally removed. . . It is no coincidence that since the present fight began clubs sympathetic to us have been broken into and their records removed."

In the previously cited instance of the 1946 conflict over nominations for judgeships of the State Supreme Court, it was Marcantonio who, in a bitter 45-minute tirade, whipped the ALP into line behind two white candidates — Democrat Thomas Corcoran and Republican Edgar J. Nathan, Jr. — against Connolly's proposed independent candidates, including a Negro.

These and other valuable exposures of Marcantonio's dictatorial misrule of the ALP appear in the Connolly group's paper, **Today's Outlook**, and its supplementary **Fact Sheets**. They also present effective refutations of the Stalinist slanders.

But nowhere is there a probing analysis that attempts to explain why the ALP membership is silenced, or why opponents of Marcantonio's rule are vilified. The group is still programmatically unclear and unarmed.

Today's Outlook seams bewildered by the vitriolic attacks against Connolly. "One of the tragedies of the situation," it complains, is that Marcantonio and his clique "want to destroy" Connolly "(who) has been one of labor's most militant advocates." The **Outlook** asks: "How can those who say they want to promote labor's interests justify their refusal to give Connolly their full support?"

There would be no puzzling over these slanders, if there were a real understanding of the Stalinists who control the ALP. When Connolly declared on July 6, "I am not conducting an attack on the Communist Party. I am opposed to such attacks," his motives were good, but his conclusions were not.

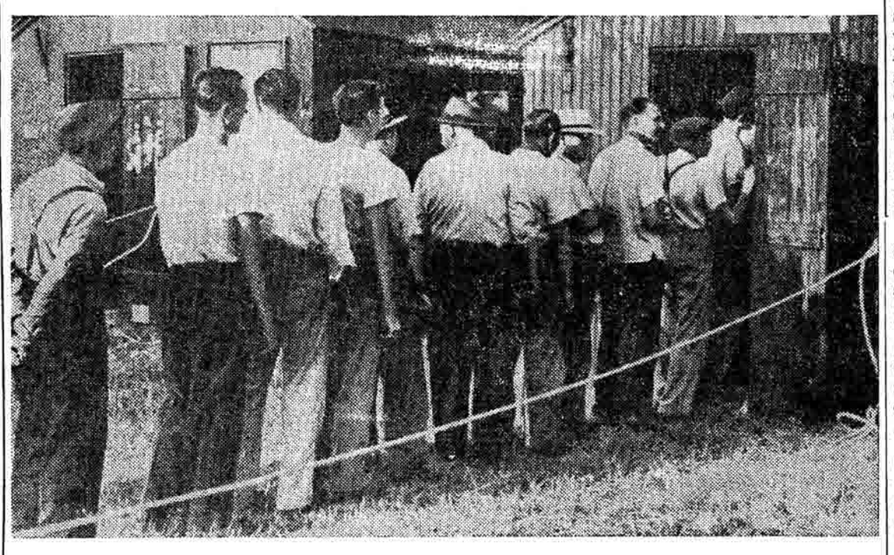
Connolly correctly did not want to play the red-baiters' game. But it is not red-baiting to tell the truth, to expose the Stalinist party for what it is. For it is not Marcantonio as an individual, but Marcantonio as the Stalinist whip who is carrying out the "rule or ruin" policy in the ALP. Unless one understands the role of the Communist Party, it is impossible to carry out a successful struggle for democracy in the ALP.

The Stalinists rule the ALP as if it were their private preserve. All its policies and actions flow from this central fact. The various National Communist Parties use organizations under their control as pawns to make bargains with capitalist politicians wherever they can. This means they must keep rigorous control over these organizations. They must hog the leadership, rob the membership of all voice in policy. They cannot afford democracy and discussion, which might lead to the overthrow of their opportunist proposals.

While **Today's Outlook** urges ALP members "to place principles ahead of power, and to keep our party from degenerating into a sectarian and boss-ridden outfit," it again fails to go beneath the surface. Does the Connolly group want an end to all deals with capitalist parties? What is its opinion of what the program of the party should be? What about its composition? What is its position in relation to the capitalist Progressive Party of Wallace?

These are questions that should be seriously discussed and decided by the many ALP members who are fed up with the dictatorial rule and ruinous policies of Marcantonio.

They Voted 7 to 1 for Ford Strike



Ford workers in Michigan, like these shown lined up at a polling booth, cast an 87% majority vote for strike action to win union demands for wage boosts, pension and health insurance.

The Ford Union Vote

By Joseph Keller

It's hard to recall that it was only a little more than eight years ago, in the spring of 1941, that the Ford workers rose up against decades of industrial slavery and the private army of the Ford empire to establish for the first time a union of their own choosing and collective bargaining rights.

The results of the strike vote taken by the Ford workers in Michigan on Aug. 8, 9 and 10 show how far they have come in eight short years in the development of their union consciousness and solidarity. The old Ford Co. "magic" — slick propaganda combined with intimidation — doesn't make a dent any more on the Ford workers.

Henry Ford II tried every trick in the book to induce the Ford workers to vote against empowering their union leaders to call a strike. He had the advantage of the fact that just a few months ago the Ford workers had engaged in a bitter and costly strike over speedup and might be cautious over approving another walkout so soon.

The **Rouge News**, company paper, poured out the propaganda urging the workers to vote against strike, claiming, of course, that "the question is not one of voting for or against the union," but simply "for steady jobs and security." From implied threats of production cutbacks and firings to scarehead warnings about the "needless hardship" of a strike, the Ford sheet ranged the gamut of anti-strike appeals.

The company invaded the workers' homes with a flood of letters and sneaked in their back doors through full page ads in the Detroit newspapers saying "it is the apparent hope of union leadership that you will vote yourself into another long strike."

Before the vote outcome was known, **Business Week** had appraised the meaning of the various possible results. If it was a vote against strike, it would be the biggest blow to union morale since the defeat of the Little Steel Strike of 1937. If the majority for strike was less than 75%, it would still signify that the company's campaign "must be considered a success."

But if the strike majority was between 75% and 90%, it meant that the company's campaign had no effect; and over 90%, the "anti-walkout campaign must be looked on as a boomerang."

A total of 75,230 workers out of the 81,000 eligible to vote cast ballots in a state-conducted poll under the anti-labor Bonine-Tripp Law. The vote for strike was 65,001, with only 9,549 opposed — a whopping majority of 87%. This was close enough to **Business Week's** 90% to constitute a crushing repudiation of the company's campaign.

Maybe the company did say that if they voted against strike they weren't voting "against the union." But the Ford workers knew better. They understood clearly that a vote for strike was, in essence, a vote for the union and against the company's attempts to influence the union.

And, as Murray Kempton, columnist for the New York **Post** said, "A strike vote in Detroit is no hollow show. Out there when a union man authorizes a walkout, he's not just trying to strengthen his union's hand at bargaining; he's prepared to go out."

The Ford workers are a whole head taller than they were eight years ago. They can't be bamboozled by high-powered company talk. They're conscious union men to the bone — as Ford has learned to his regret.

A-Bomb Fodder

By Henry Johnson

Under the guise of "military security" the people of this country are being psychologized into accepting as a foregone conclusion the use of atomic explosives on a mass scale against defenseless civilians.

The sum and substance of the 200-page sixth semi-annual report of the Atomic Energy Commission is that the U. S. now possesses a "new and improved" model of the a-bomb, at least twice as destructive as the earlier models. This "Einwetok model" is being made on a mass-production scale.

In the name of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Army General Omar Bradley, during his testimony on the new arms bill before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, brandished the a-bomb and proclaimed that "the first priority of joint defense is our ability to deliver the atomic bomb."

A few days ago, Air Force General Hoyt Vandenberg told the House Armed Services Committee that Soviet targets for a-bombs have already been chosen. Asserting that the Soviet Union is the only possible country against which the U. S. would be at war, Gen. Vandenberg added that his statements had been authorized by the State Department.

The chief targets of such "strategic bombing" can be only the civilian populations of large cities, helpless men, women and children. Writing in the June 25 issue of the **Saturday Evening Post**, Rear Admiral D. V. Gallery criticized "the prophets of the (a-bomb) blitz" on the ground that what their plan "really boils down to in the long run is simple destruction of cities."

Bigger and better a-bombs mean in the first instance vaster civilian casualties.

William A. Laurence, atomic expert of the New York Times, gingerly touches this aspect, commenting as follows:

"If it is true, as the experts agree, that the Nagasaki-type bomb could effectively destroy the heart of any industrial city so that it would be eliminated as a factor in the nation's industrial economy, what greater harm, save for the additional destruction of human lives, could an improved model do? If the Einwetok bomb is twice as destructive, it can mean only that it is twice as destructive in terms of human lives and not in industrial potential."

Do you remember the pretended indignation and outcries against "Nazi barbarism" which filled the columns of the capitalist press when the German General Staff launched its large-scale air bombings against London and other cities?

Well, the Truman Administration and its General Staff, which have already on their record the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atrocities, are committing this country in advance to the projected annihilation of scores upon scores of millions of Soviet civilians. By this token the threat of atomic annihilation is now suspended over civilians everywhere on our planet, not excluding the men, women and children in this country.

They are the fodder for the projected "strategic" atomic strafings.

Socialized Medicine IX

Cooperative Health Centers

By Grace Carlson

Like the weather, preventive medicine is a subject about which a lot of people talk — but few do anything. The fact that it is better — and easier — to prevent disease than to cure it is agreed upon by most doctors. But the fee system of private medicine bars the way toward any effective, widespread program of preventive medicine. To the private practitioner, who depends upon his fees for a living, sick people represent a source of profit. Sick care — not health care — is the cornerstone of private medicine.

Medical prepayment plans represent a step in advance of the fee-for-service system. But of the multitude of health insurance plans, supported by unions, cooperatives, employers or medical societies, few even make any pretense of offering a rounded program of medical care.

In these voluntary insurance plans, the question of whether the worker is a good medical risk or not usually takes precedence over the ideal of preventive medical service. Such cooperative health centers as the Farmers Union Cooperative Hospital of Elk City, Oklahoma, the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles, the Arrowhead Health Center of Duluth, Minnesota, and the Community Health Center of Two Harbors, Minnesota, have made significant advances in the direction of preventive medicine. All of these cooperative health programs have carefully-defined limitations, however.

Of all cooperative health centers in the country, the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, Missouri, is probably unique. Set up in 1945 by the Joint Board of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union (at that time in the CIO, now in the AFL Teamsters) the Labor Health Institute offers a comprehensive program of free medical care to its members.

Like this St. Louis union, the United Mine Workers, the New York City Painters union, the International Ladies Garment Workers union and others have won health and security clauses in their contracts which have enabled them to establish health programs for their members.

But the staggering problem of supplying medical care to all American workers who need it can be met only with federal funds through a federal compulsory health insurance program. Thas it why the official AFL and CIO movements, as well as the progressive Farmers Union, have endorsed the National Health Insurance and Public Health Program, successor to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

This National Health Program has been shelved by Congress for the eighth time in ten years, but, undoubtedly, a new compulsory health insurance scheme will be introduced at the next session of Congress. Therefore, succeeding articles in this series will discuss the proposals that have been debated in the United States Congress over the past decade — both the compulsory as well as the so-called voluntary health insurance plans.

Notes from the News

PROOF HE'S THE TOPS — Maj. Gen. Alden H. Waitt, suspended chief of the Army Chemical Corps, boasted to the Senate subcommittee at the "five per centers" inquiry that he's the world's foremost expert on toxicological (poisonous) warfare. To back his claim, he cited the fact that **Pravda**, a Kremlin newspaper, had called him "the savage General Waitt" while Moscow Radio described him as a "cannibal."

* * *

MAJESTY OF THE LAW — A 10-year-old boy who swiped $7 to buy candy is now serving a year in the South Carolina state penitentiary. Wyndham M. Manning, prison superintendent, claimed the child was put in the penitentiary, which has no age limits, because the reform school was only for boys aged 12 to 17.

* * *

THE RIGHT TO WORK — A citizens' committee of the small town of Auburn, N. Y., headed by leading city officials and union leaders, failed in a plea to International Harvester Co. not to shut down its local plant and throw 1,800 workers out of jobs. The company ignored the argument that it owed some social obligations to the community and workers which had helped it pile up huge profits for 40 years.

NO-SURRENDER POLICY — The ninety-first convention of the AFL International Typographical Union, convened last week in Oakland, Calif., voted to continue its "no surrender" policy on working agreements in connection with the 21-month-old Chicago newspaper strike.

* * *

SALES DOWN, PROFITS UP — Safeway Stores, Inc., national grocery chain operating more than 2,000 stores, on Aug. 13 reported a decline in net sales — $518,702,572 for the first half of 1949 compared to $552,540,815 for the same period last year. Net profits, however, more than doubled, jumping from $3,200,507 in the first half of 1948 to $6,943,147 for the same period this year.

* * *

BUT NOT GOING ANYWHERE — The Dept. of Agriculture is using 24 surplus Liberty ships as "floating grain bins" for more than 6,000,000 bushels of surplus wheat in the government price-support program. Twelve boatloads are already in storage at the Maritime Commission's laid-up fleet base at Tomkins Cove, N. Y., and another 12 ships are being readied for loading at New Jersey piers.

WALLACEITE YOUTH MEETING HEARS SWP UNITY PLEA ON CIVIL RIGHTS

NEW YORK, Aug. 13 — The bureaucratic Stalinist grip on the Young Progressives of America, Wallaceite Youth organization was thoroughly exposed at a meeting of the Astoria branch here last night.

After Mike Bartell, local organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, had concluded a speech on the Minneapolis case and the fight for civil rights, a Communist Party functionary let loose an hysterical tirade of lies and slanders against the SWP and then moved that Bartell not be permitted to answer this attack. Other Stalinists took the floor to support the proposal to silence Bartell, and to build up an atmosphere of intimidation.

In spite of the lynch hysteria that had been generated, several members of the YPA braved the wrath of the Stalinist hacks by denouncing their crass violation of elementary democracy. The chairman of the club defended his action in inviting Bartell to speak and warned that if the club rejected the proposal of the SWP for a united front for civil rights, it would be the biggest mistake it had ever made.

TRY TO GAG CHAIRMAN

He was rewarded for this principled stand by attempts to gag him and by the vilest kind of character assassination. Toward the end of the meeting, a Stalinist falsely charged him with discrimination against a Negro member, by refusing to give him the floor. This charge of "anti-Negro discrimination" has become a standard slander of Stalinists in getting rid of their critics.

Not a single attempt was made to answer the arguments and charges levelled by Bartell against the Stalinists for their treachery toward non-Stalinist victims of the witch-hunt. In his speech made upon invitation of the club's executive committee, Bartell appealed for support to the 18 SWP victims of the Smith Act, and to James Kutcher, victim of Clark's "loyalty" purge.

He exposed the Stalinist sabotage in these civil rights cases and demolished their "explanations" point by point. He proved to the hilt that far from being "fascists, agents of Wall St.," etc., the Trotskyists have been the most consistant fighters against fascism, war and Jim-Crow, and for world socialism.

CALLS FOR UNITED FRONT

He demonstrated, with thorough documentation and irrefutable evidence from their own mouths, that the Stalinists themselves were guilty of "defending and collaborating with fascists and reactionaries," of "strikebreaking," "fingering" and every crime of which they falsely accused the Trotskyists.

He concluded with an appeal to the YPA to support all victims of reaction and to join in the struggle to build a broad, non-partisan united-front movement to defend civil liberties.

The vote on the motion to prevent Bartell from answering the torrent of fantastic tales and falsehoods was taken at 12:30 A.M., after a heated debate lasting two hours. In spite of the murderous pressure exerted and the lateness of the hour, out of 51 voting, nine votes were cast against this outrageous motion, and one abstention was recorded.

Additional motions were passed providing that one or more "educationals" on Trotskyism be held in the near future and referring the entire question of the "attitude of YPA toward Trotskyists" to its State Executive Committee. The maker of the motion made it perfectly clear that what he had in mind was a decision to exclude members of the SWP from membership in the YPA, although the YPA is supposedly non-partisan.

HOUSE COMMITTEE, PRIESTS INFLUENCE LOCAL 601 VOTE

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 16 — The red-baiting Carey-Block faction at Westinghouse Local 601 won seven of the local's nine delegates to the forthcoming CIO United Electrical Workers national convention. However, the pro-Stalinist forces regained some of their former prestige with the election of Tom Fitzpatrick and Frank Panzino. Fitzpatrick, who was the main target of the red-baiting, came within six votes of getting the highest vote.

The election was held in an atmosphere of witchhunt and political terrorization, starting with the investigation of four of the Stalinist-backed candidates by the House Un-American Committee which heard stoolpigeon testimony from a number of the local union officials.

CLERICAL INTERVENTION

On the day of the election, the Catholic clergy read a four-paragraph memorandum instructing all Westinghouse workers to vote for the Carey-Block slate. This is a center of activity by the priest-ridden Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The climax of the local administration's campaign was the parade of veterans from the strikebreaking, anti-labor American Legion, with jingoistic and red-baiting slogans.

The whole program of the rightwing caucus was built around the slogan to "kick the commies out" and the government will give Westinghouse war work. This caucus is led by the ACTU and Father Rice. Several members and ex-members of the Socialist Party front for them.

The pro-Stalinist caucus campaigned for support of the National UE leadership and the democratic rights of all members, in this district where the Stalinists are an opposition, to participate in union activity. While the Stalinists play a dominant role in the caucus, it has attracted the majority of the militants in the plant as a reaction against the pro-company policies of the Murray-Carey wing.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

SWP ELECTION RALLY

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for Mayor

HARRY RING
for Controller

GLADYS BARKER
for Pres., City Council

HAROLD ROBBINS
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8:00 PM

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Hear:

MICHAEL BARTELL

Friday, August 26

Friday, August 26 - 8:00 PM

423 Springfield Avenue

SWP Candidates To Speak at N. Y. Memorial Meeting

All four municipal candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will speak at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York City on Wednesday, Aug. 24, at 8 pm, in the air-cooled Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23rd St.

You are invited to hear Michael Bartell, candidate for Mayor; Harry Ring, candidate for Controller; Gladys Barker, candidate for President of City Council; and Harold Robbins, candidate for Borough President of Manhattan.

Chairman of the meeting will be George Clarke, editor of Fourth International.

Workers Invited to Attend West Coast Vacation School

LOS ANGELES — The annual West Coast Vacation School for Workers is to be held this year from Sept. 4 to Sept. 11 inclusive. The site of the school is the Workmens Circle camp at Carbon Canyon, which is about 30 miles from Los Angeles.

Excellent recreational facilities will be provided, including a large swimming pool, ping-pong, volley ball, and baseball games. The program includes classes under the trees, plays, games, lectures, and all the others things that go into making an ideal summer camp and vacation school.

The camp committee has worked out an extremely interesting educational program. A series of classes will be held daily, covering the subject of "American Imperialism and Problems of the Labor Movement," led by F. Lang, and the "American Civil War," led by R. Kirk. Evening lectures will deal with such topics as the "Negro Question," the "Buffer Countries," and similar subjects. An evening session, with a competent lecturer, will be devoted to each subject.

As at the previous encampments, there will be planned entertainment, such as a play, dancing, etc., every evening.

The rate for the entire eight days is $27.50; for a single day, $4.50. Rates for children are $15 for eight days and $2.25 per day. Registrations must be made in advance, in writing. Write to J. Blake, Room 325, 124 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 14, California. Include details on the days you want to attend and how many adults or children you are registering for.